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Pathways to Membership: Socialization to Work*

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This chapter addresses selected aspects of what is rapidly
becoming an almost universal process in Western societies, organ-
izational socialization. The focus is the occupational milieu a
young person enters into on a full-time basis after having more
or less completed a period of formal schooling at the secondary
or post-secondary level. In temporal terms, the everyday work
setting can perhaps only be challenged by the family environment
as the locusof adult behavior. For most people, work is far
more than forty hours out of their week, it represents a routinized
pattern of thought and action that at least partially determines
one's way of life. It is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that
the work one does and where they do it exercises significant
influence over the choices one makes concerning where one will live,
with whom one will associate, what one will consider important,
and even what one will become. Everett Hughes's(1958) often
quoted remark makes this point well: "A man's work is as good
a clue as any to the cause of his life, his social being and his
identity."

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forthcoming.

In general, social theorists have designated the social and
psychological adjustments of individuals to their work settings
as occupational socialization (Moore, 1969). Yet, the historical
facts of modern life suggest that we live in an "employee society."
In 1970, for example, almost 90 percent of the labor force in the
United States were employed by organizations and this percentage
has been steadily on the increase for the last century (Tausky,
1975). Throughout this chapter, the term organizational social-
ization will be preferred to the term occupational socialization
because it directs attention to the dominant setting in which
the process occurs. Although the two socialization processes
are obviously interdependent, the position taken here is that the
characteristics of the socialization setting are far more crucial
to the eventual outcomes of the process than are the specific
occupational attributes to be inculcated.

Organizational socialization refers to the way in which people
learn the values, norms, and required behaviors necessary to
function as a member of an organization. It deals therefore with
the manner in which individuals are processed in organizations
such that they are able to distinguish appropriate from inappro-
priate conduct, good from bad performance, acceptable from unacceptable
action, and so forth. Organizational socialization involves
therefore the learning of a specific work culture and is conceptu-
alized here primarily in social or informational terms, not
individual or behavioral ones. This is merely to say that I am

more concerned in this essay with the various forms of organizational socialization rather than the distinctive raw materials that fill these forms. My central assumption is simply that people are differentially socialized not only because people are different but also, and perhaps of far more importance, because organizational processes differ.[1]

There are several advantages of viewing organizational socialization in this fashion. First, it emphasizes the socially acquired and shared information available to all or at least most organizational members as opposed to the individual and, at times, idiosyncratic beliefs held by different organizational members. Socialization can be seen then from a more general or collective perspective than would otherwise be the case. Second, it directs relatively greater attention toward the agents or senders of the organizational culture than to the recruits or receivers. This helps to correct what some observers have called a "recipient bias" in the study of social influence (Mills, 1959; Van Maanen, 1976; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). Third, a focus on organizational culture necessarily generates concern for the way information is transmitted from one generation of organizational participants to the next. Thus organizational stability (or instability) can be viewed, at least partially, as a product of the specific socialization practices utilized by individuals and groups within the organization. Finally, the

informational or cultural approach suggests that socialization
is not a discrete process that occurs once and for all at a
particular period but is a continuous process that occurs through-
out an individual's career within an organization. Indeed, from
entry to exit, a person's career within an organization represents
a series of transitions from one position or social role to another
and any given transition may demand relatively mild to severe
adjustments on the individual's part.[2] But, it is also the case
that socialization is most obvious and perhaps most telling
when one first joins an organization -- the outsider to insider
passage. It is during the period of initiation into an organiza-
tional role wherein most learning is likely to occur and, as
such this period is also likely to be more lively, exciting and un-
comfortable for the individual than during other transition periods.[3]

On Learning to Work

Moving into the workplace for the first time requires the
learning of a new social role. It implies that one may not only
learn new attitudes, values, and behaviors but also that one may
be forced to relinquish old ones as well. Such learning and
unlearning is what Schein (1968) refers to as "the price of member-
ship." The transition into the workplace therefore puts an
individual in a situation of some anxiety which can only be reduced
by learning the functional and social requirements of the new
role as quickly as possible.[4] This learning does not of course

occur in a social vacuum strictly on the basis of the official
or administrative versions of what is required in the new role.
Any person crossing the membership boundry into the organization
is particularly vulnerable to clues on how to proceed that
originate in the interactional zone that surrounds them. Thus,
colleagues, superiors, subordinates, clients, friends, relatives,
and other associates support and guide the individual who is
learning a work role. They help interpret the events the person
experiences such that the person can eventually take action in
the new situation and, ultimately, they provide the person with
a sense of accomplishment and competence (or failure and incom-
petence).

The view   taken in this chapter is that when one moves
into the work world for the first time there is likely to be at
least some surprise or what Hughes (1958) calls "reality shock" in
store for the individual. When persons undergo such a transition,
regardless of the information they already possess about the to-be-
assumed work, their a priori understanding of that role will un-
doubtedly change in either a subtle or dramatic fashion. As
William James observed long ago, "knowledge about" and "knowledge
of" a phenomena imply quite different levels of meaning. No
matter how well prepared an individual may be educationally or by
virtue of family experience, becoming a full-time member of a
work organization will upset one's everyday order of things.
Matters concerning friendship, time, purpose, demeanor, competence,
self-image, personal values, and so forth are suddenly made

problematic. The individual must build a set of guidelines to
explain and make meaningful the myraid of activities observed to
be going on in the work setting. To come to know an organization
and act within it implies that a person has developed some rules,
principles, and understandings for interpreting the various
personal experiences that are associated with participating in a
given sphere of work.

A useful way of considering this problem is to analyze the
manner in which people build a perspective or, more specifically,
a situational definition to order their view of the work world.
In everyday life, to have defined a situation means that the social
actor has developed certain notions regarding the role he or she
is to enact in that situation. To define a situation is to be
able to say the one "knows" what is going on around one's self.
In a sense, situational definitions represent commonsense theories
about particular and recurrent occasions such that the person
can construct certain lines of action according to what he or she
considers to be proper for such occasions.[5]

The specific content of situational defintions learned during
a period of organizational socialization can be analytically
broken down in terms of its _sociotemporal_ properties.[6] This is
merely to say that in order for people to take meaningful action
in the workplace, they must first be able to say where they are
presently located, where they wish to go, and how they plan to get
there. And, in order to make such strategic choices, a situational

definition is required to inform the individual as to the social
space within which they must act as well as the social time deemed
appropriate for such actions to take place. First, consider
social space.

In any interactional setting, participants have respective
parts of roles to play. When moving in and out of the various
interpersonal segments of an organization, the parts people play
represent the segments of the social structure that newcomers
must cognitively organize or map if they are to fully participate
as members of the organization.[7] Once mapped these parts or roles
provide guidelines for individual action and expectation such
that the individual gains at least some idea of the behavior that
is representative of other persons in the setting and also some
idea of the behavior that others in the setting would be likely
to interpret as going beyond the pale. For instance, when two
previously unacquainted individuals come together to conduct
business, pass the time, or, more generally, enter into some
exchange that requires the give and take of joint activity, both
must infer whether or not the other's appearance, gestures, and
utterances are typical of some other group or category of persons
with which each has previously had some experience (real or
vicarious). Once the other is typed, then a collection of more
or less appropriate responses can be marshalled out by the parti-
cipants to order the interaction. This allows a role for the
other to emerge as well as providing one's self with a proper role
to play.

To construct a situational definition means, in part, that one can normalize the situation such that it becomes seen as a situation of a certain kind. For example, when one answers a knock on the door and discovers a stranger on their porch, they are typically ill at ease, uncomfortable, and unsure of how to act until they can type the stranger as being of a certain kind -- a salesperson, a pollster, a religious emissary, or perhaps a passing motorist in trouble. Normalizing the situation allows a culturally clear frame of reference to be built around it. And, within such a frame, people can more or less predict how another should act and correspondingly how they should act. To have normalized a situation means also that since the person can sense an order behind an appearance, the individual will be able to detect occurances which fall outside normal patterns. Boundries for appropriate behavior can then be said to exist. The learning of these behavioral boundries is therefore a central task for the individual when first entering a work organization.

A good example in this regard is found in David Sudnow's (1965) classic study of the situational definitions used by public defenders to order their work lives. In brief, Sudnow found that within the organizational culture of a particular public defender's office, all crimes were classified by PDs into "typical" and "atypical" categories. Roughly 90 percent of the case load was comprised of the normal variety involving low-status defendants, crimes against property, no violence associated

with the commission of the crime, and so on. The cases which fell under this interpretive frame of reference were then handled routinely with all PDs following a learned but familiar and rather mundane plea-bargaining recipe. These "normal crimes" were not so much worked as they were processed according to a pre-existing, largely taken-for-granted plan. Actions taken by the PDs on cases falling outside the normality structure were, however, far less predicable. Each PD seemed to handle them in his or her own highly individualized fashion indicating that the situational definitions associated with the atypical cases were constructed idiosyncratically, based presumbly upon whatever merits or demerits could be read into or gleaned from a particular case by a particular public defender.

What this example highlights beyond the normalization procedures individuals learn during the early stages of their organizational careers is the fact that their learned work perspectives have also a probabilistic dimension built into them. To classify something as typical or normal is to suggest that the person has learned to have a particular expectation in mind.[8] It suggests too that individuals assess the probability of an event as they do the event's normality and that this assessment enters into the definition of the situation as well. Thus, a manager observed to be in the office typing a letter may well be atypical yet still perfectly normal if it can be determined that the person is typing as a result of a temporary shortage of clerical personnel. The occurrence may be rare but nonetheless it is to be expected under the circumstances. Normalization implies there-

fore that the individual has at least some idea of the "why"
that lies behind an observed pattern of action, an idea grounded
of course within the specific organizational culture of which
the individual is a member. Situational definitions carry with
them, then, everyday theoretical notions. In other words, to
define a situation is to also be able to assign certain rudimentary
cause-effect understandings to the situation's occurence.

Motivational schemes ascribed to persons are, from this
perspective, rather $\land$ explanatory devices. Rightly or wrongly, they
allow persons to make meaningful that which surrounds them. For
example, most rookie policemen soon learn that among their colleagues
in the organization are those characterized as "cabbages,"
devoid of drive or ambition , who seem to want nothing at all to
do with the work involved in police work (Van Maanen, 1978a).
"Cabbages" are seen as those officers who wish to maximize their
personal safety, their economic security, their blemish-free
service record. Similarly, in industrial settings, new foremen
must contend with workers whom they learn to see as "trouble-
makers" or "attitude problems." Such types are seen to contaminate
the otherwise "good workers," thus slowdowns, horseplay, absenteeism,
and sometimes outright sabotage can them be "understood" by the
new foreman and assigned casual root.

Aside from learning the normal forms that are associated with
one's involvement in a particular work setting, a newcomer must
also develop some idea how time is to be viewed within the
setting. To a novice, time is most problematic. One must

discover: when to take a break, have lunch, quit work, when to arrive each day, read the paper (if ever), how long one must stay at a certain pay grade, when to ask the boss a question, and so on. The temporal framework an individual eventually adopts provides both short-range timetables (which divide up the days and weeks into manageable components) and long-range ones (which provide notions of how one's work career may unfold). From this standpoint, the present is rendered understandable only in terms of where one has been and where one wants to go. Work perspectives or situational definitions that allow one to function effectively in the immediate moment must, therefore, provide for some continuity between the past and the future. The hard working, upwardly mobile student of law must believe, for example, that something is "out there" and is worth looking toward and preparing for if the immediate experiences of being a student are to be meaningful.

The term theme is used here to denote that aspect of situational definitions that an individual uses to link the past, present, and future (Van Maanen, 1977a). A theme generates an evaluation of present activity not by interpreting the immediate moment itself but by interpreting the immediate moment's relation to the past and the future. It joins the experienced past and anticipated future together whether or not that past and future are only seconds apart or years apart. A theme in the workplace might be that one has an "interesting, challenging job with good prospects," or, conversely, that one has a "dull, routine job with few prospects." Both themes postualte a pattern to one's activities in the work world and can be used to guide one's activities.

Themes can, of course, be realistic (in the sense that they are
continuously being experienced and documented) or fantastic (in
the sense that they are never being experienced and documented).
But, the critical point here is simply that themes are necessary
components of an actor's situational definition.

A theme serves largely to place the present within a normalized
stream of life events. What occurs when one fails to document as
expected a given theme is surprise. And surprise entails at
least a momentary unhinging of the person from his or her con-
structed situational definition. The present becomes problematic
because the future is hazy and the results of one's actions are
undeterminable. Themes therefore are testable in the sense that
a timetable for events can partially be constructed such that
the person can more or less tell if a given theme is being
fulfilled or not. If, for example, a young man defines his
employment with a certain firm as "promising" this theme surely
embodies notions of "moving up" in the firm quickly or being
swiftly given more significant tasks to perform than those initially
assigned. Conceivably, the test of this theme might be the number
of different assignments the young man receives during the first
year or two of work in the firm. If the assignments are many,
the "promising" theme may hold and become further embellished.
If the assignments are few, the "promising" theme will no doubt
fade and be replaced by something less desirable. Themes and
their timetables, are, like all reality generating equipment,

subject to the sudden twists of benevolent or malevolent fate.

As the above example suggests, the individual's real or imagined control over his or her fate must also be considered a temporal characteristic of a given situational definition in the workplace. This feature refers to the person's perceived ownership of the work there. Work situations will of course vary as to the degree to which persons can, by their own efforts, create and sustain a theme. Civil service bureaucracies, for example, exert almost monopolistic control over the career themes of employees providing rather explicit sets of stipulations regarding and regulating an individual's progress (or lack thereof) within the organization. Similarly, contracts and agreements provide narrow limits within which a union member can carve out an everyday work theme. In both cases, themes are most certainly present and are perhaps quite specific though the individual is unlikely to have had much to do with the authoring of the theme. While thematic revisions may occur, they are perhaps attributable less to individual efforts than to environmental conditions -- the person being only a miniscule cog caught up in a situation he or she had nothing to do with defining. Ownership, then, is akin to the causal structure a person attributes to the temporal situation.

Summarily, situational definitions provide an individual with a practical theory and perspective for "what's going on" in the work-place. Such a theory includes notions of what typically occurs in the work setting (normality) and when it should occur (themes).

Furthermore, the probability of an event's occurrence in the situation is tied to its normality structure in roughly the same way as an event's timetable tests a particular theme. Situational definitions also include beliefs regarding why things occur as they do (causality) and the amount of control people believe they have over these things (ownership). In short, situational definitions provide the rules by which one can manage the unique and reoccuring strains of organizational life. They provide the person with a <u>perspective</u> on the organization that runs ahead and directs experience, orders and shapes personal relationships within the work setting, and provides the ground rule under which everyday affairs can be managed.[9]

The analysis presented in the following section explores the learning of situational definitions in the work setting from primarily an external or structural standpoint. The discussion therefore moves beyond individual concerns or what it is specifically that the recruit learns during the non-member to member transition period and considers the manner in which such learning takes place. A concern for the structural properties of work socialization is critical because, as it is argued below, an individual's perspective on the work he or she performs is shaped in rather predictable ways depending upon how the experiences of the newcomer are organizationally patterned. Though a few exceptions are almost always the rule, the particular shaping process may produce recruits that act in ways remarkably similar to one another or act in ways

altogether dissimilar. That this shaping occurs more from
design than drift is a point underlying the remainder of this
chapter.[10]

Strategies of Organizational Socialization

The title phrase, "pathways to membership," refers to
the strategic ways in which the initial experiences of a new-
comer to an organization are structured for him or her by others
within that organization. These tactics may be selected "plan-
fully" by management with some particular objective in mind
such as the requirement that all recruits attend a training or
orientation program of some kind. Or, they may be selected
"naturally" by management with no particular objective in mind,
representing merely precedents established in the traditional
but dim past of an organization's history such as the proverbial
"sink or swim" method of socialization by which it is said a
person learns how to perform the work role on their own. Regard-
less of the basis of choice, however, any given strategy repre-
sents a distinguishable set of events occuring to the individual
in transition which make certain behavioral and attitudinal
consequences more likely than others. It is possible therefore
to denote the various socialization strategies used in work
organizations and then explore the differential results of their
use upon the people to whom they are directed.

As denoted below, there are at least seven major strategic
dimensions available to characterize the structural side of
organizational socialization. I do not assert however that this
list is in any way exhaustive or that the processes are presented
in any order of relevance to a particular organization or occupation.
These are essentially empirical questions that can only be answer-
ed by further research. I do assert and attempt to demonstrate
however that these strategies are quite common and of consequence
to the people passing through a socialization sequence. My reasons
for choosing the particular strategies depicted below are simply
the visible presence (or omnipresence) of the strategy across what
appears to be a wide variety of organizations as well as the seem-
ing importance and power of that strategy upon the persons who
are subjected to it. Moreover, each listed strategy is not
mutually exclusive of the others. Indeed, they are typically
combined in sundry and often inventive ways. The effects of the
strategies upon people are consequently cumulative. While I
discuss each tactic in relative isolation, the reader should be
aware that a recruit to an organizational position encounters all
the listed strategies simultaneously. Finally, each strategy is
presented below alongside its counterpart or opposing strategy. In
practice, each strategy can be thought of then as located some-
where on a continuum where there is often a great deal of range
between the two poles.[11]

1. Formal (Informal) Socialization Processes:

The formality of a socialization setting refers to the degree to which the setting is segregated from the on-going work context (Brim, 1966; Wheeler, 1966; Cogswell, 1967). Is the role of the recruit specified or unspecified? In a formal setting, the recruit's role as a recruit is given -- differentiating in an official fashion the recruit from others in the setting. If the recruit's role is left unspecified, much learning takes place via the informal social and task-related networks. Thus, informal socialization procedures are analytically similar to the familiar trial and error techniques by which one learns through experience.

Generally, the more formal the setting, the more stress there is upon influencing the person's beliefs and values. In most formal settings, agents are concerned primarily with the recruit's absorption of the appropriate demeanor and stance associated with the target role -- that one begins to think and feel like a U.S. Marine or flight attendant or parish priest. In Bidwell's (1962) terms, formal settings emphasize "status socialization" (i.e. preparing the recruit to occupy a particular position) and informal settings emphasize "role socialization" (i.e. preparing the recruit to perform a specified task). Under most circumstances, the greater the separation of the recruit from the work-a-day realities involved in a particular line of work, the less the newcomer will be able to carry over and generalize any abilities or skills learned in a socialization setting to the workplace. And, therefore, formal processes concentrate, implicitly, if not

explicitly, more upon attitude than act.[12] For example, police recruits, sales trainees, and student nurses commonly denounce their formal training experiences as irrelevant, abstract and dull. Paradoxically, they are also expressing at the same time an attraction for components of the valued organizational ethos such as autonomy, pragmatism, and personal independence (Van Maanen, 1974).

Critically, formal processes almost always stress the "proper" or "right" way of behaving in lieu of the "practical" or "smart" way perhaps followed by the more experienced members in the organization. For example, many employees misrepresent their overtime statements or expense allowances; budget makers often pad their budgets with either fictitious expenses or exaggerated amounts for a given item; and supervisors almost invariably rate the performance of their subordinates as being far superior than is actually the case. All these are examples of how ideal organizational rules and policies are commonly broken.[13] Formal socialization processes convey primarily the ideal version of organizational practices, rarely do they convey what, in reality, may be the case. The padded budget, for example, is, in many organizations, a normal and expected tactic, almost a standard operating procedure. So standard is the practice that those responsible for funds have developed the counterstrategy of lopping off a certain percentage of a requested budget on the grounds that the lesser amount better mirrors the actual needs of the budget maker than the original budget. Moreover, the member who strictly adheres to the correct practices (the proper) rather than the currently

acceptable social practices (the smart) is likely to be considered
by others in the organization to be a "Schlemiel" or "Schuck"
(one who has not been socialized fully). Thus, the budget maker
who presents a budget that accurately reflects the needs of his
group or department is then a Schmuck: his activities may harm
his own group and, in the long run, may create havoc in the total
system. The Schmuck's budget-- like those of other budget makers--
gets cut by the regular percentage, and, as a result, his group
can not function in its accustomed fashion.

From this standpoint, formal socialization processes may be
viewed tentatively as a "first wave" of socialization. The informal
"second wave" occurs when the newcomer is actually placed in his
designated organizational slot and must then learn the actual
practices which go on there (Inkeles, 1966). Whereas the first
wave stresses general skills and attitudes, the second wave
emphasizes specified actions, situational applications of the
rules, and the idiosyncratic nuances necessary to perform the role
in the work setting. However, when the gap separating the two
sorts of learning is rather large, disillusionment with the first
wave may set in causing the individual to disregard virtually
everything he has learned in the formal wave of socialization.

Looking to the individual in transition, formal strategies
appear to produce stress in the form of a sort of Goffmanesque period
of personal stigmatization. Whether or not this stigmatization takes

takes the form of identifying garb (such as the peculiar unif
worn by police recruits); a special and usually somewhat demeaning
title (such as "rookie", "trainee", or "junior"); or insular
postion (such as an assignment to a classroom instead of an office
or job); a person undergoing formal socialization is likely to
feel isolated, cut-off, and prohibited from assuming the everyday
kinds of social relationships with his more experienced organizational
"betters". Furthermore, formal processes seldom use evaluations
of an individual's performance in an advisory or diagnostic manner
which would assist the person in discovering areas in need of
improvment. Rather, they often use the results to make decisions
bearing on the individual's future. Needless to say, if the per-
formance evaluations have fateful consequences, people will orient
their efforts solely toward getting good ones. And, if the
evaluations are not perfectly matched to the occupational situation
the person is being trained to face on the job, the individial must
divert time and effort from what he should be learning to what is
required in order to receive a good evaluation.

Informal socialization process, wherein a recruit must
settle in to the work environment in a far less programmed way
than is promoted by formal processes, can induce personal anxiety
as well. To wit, the individual may well have trouble discovering
clues as to the where, what, when and how of his assigned organi-
zational role. Uner most circumstances, laissez-faire sociali-
zation increases the influence upon the individual of the immediate

work group. There is no guarantee, though, the direction
provided by the informal approach will push the recruit in the
direction desired and favored by those in authority within the
organization (Roy, 1952).

Left to their devices, recruits select their own agents.
The success of the socialization process is then determined largely
on the basis of mutual regard between recruit and agent, the
relevant knowledge possessed by an agent, the recruit's abilities
to learn, and, of course, an agent's ability to transfer such
knowledge.

In most graduate schools, for example, students must seek
out their own advisors. The advisor acts both as philosopher,
guide, and friend, advising and supporting as well as evaluating
the student. However, the relationship hinges essentially on
the student's initiative. And in universities -- as is true in
other organizations which train would-be members in similar ways--
it is felt by the faculty that the student who pushes hardest by
demanding more time and asking more questions learns the most.
The freedom of choice afforded the recruit in the more informal
settings has consequently a price. From the recruit's perspec-
tive, he must force others in the setting to teach him.

When a subject matter or skill is thought too complex to
be learned by a recruit in a haphazard, ordinary way, it is
divided up and organized such that it can be formally presented.
Schools or training programs are set up by the organization.

Full-time teachers are often employed, a curriculum is adopted,
and so on. Associated with this approach is, of course, the
educational ideology which suggests that the learner must first
master certain "basics" before an understanding of the more
complicated features of the subject or skill can be achieved. In
the abstract, a curriculum could be tailor-made for each learner.
In practice, however, the curriculum is typically standardized
for reasons of economy and scheduling. Furthermore, the
curriculum is premised upon a conception of just how the "normal"
person can best learn the material. And, in an effort to make
learning easier, schools or training programs must divorce them-
selves from the everyday problems of the work the recruit is
being prepared for -- for actual work does not divide neatly
into curriculum categories.

Several consequences of the formal schooling approach to
organizational socialization follow. First, since teachers are
necessarily removed and distant from the work situation, their
knowledge may be faulty. Second, students, not knowing what is
or is not relevant to the actual job, must learn all the curric-
ulum presented. For example, in police training academies,
recruits are taught fingerprinting, ballistics and other crime
scene investigation techniques, which are of peripheral, if not
questionable, merit on the jobs for which they are being prepared.

(Van Maanen, 1972). Third, the standardized procedures used to
present the curriculum constrains anyone who could learn the
material more efficiently were it presented in a different order.
The student who needs more or less time than alloted will there-
fore be penalized. Finally, application and evaluation of what
is learned will not be isomorphic to the actual work situation.
Even in settings where much practice is allowed a recruit, this
problem occurs. For instance, Woods (1972) suggests that the
chief problem in barber colleges is preparing students to trim the
hair of fussy, middle-aged patrons when the only available
material for the students to test their skills upon in training
are fifty to sixty year old, skid row drunks who keep falling
asleep in the barber chair.

Informal, on-the-job preparation necessarily emphasizes
specific skills and abilities. A person learns in places where
people are doing whatever it is members of the organization
normally do. The novice ironworker, for example, learns the
trade where experienced tradesmen install beams and girders,
rivet and weld them together, and place the rods for the pouring
of reinforced concrete. Even if recruits in this context act as
no more than a so-called "go-fer" by fetching materials, blue-
prints and coffee for the other workers, they are at least
learning how to "run the iron" -- the critical but elegant skill
of walking the dangerously thin steel beams set high above the
city (Haas, 1970). By participating immediately in organizational
activities, the recruit learns "where the action is" thus

perhaps minimizing the minimizable risks of training irrelevancies.

Teaching and learning are of course vulnerable to outside constraints under informal conditions. As suggested, since everyone already has a job to do, recruits do not have an agent's time guaranteed them. The brash and aggressive will learn more than the passive and quiet. This differs greatly from conventional formal programs where new material is presented to everyone at the agent's initiative -- when the recruits are thought to be ready. Yet, it is also the case that when the agent has no formal responsibility for the recruit's learning, the abuse or misuse of responsibility can not occur, although it is possible a recruit might not be taught anything.

Mistakes or errors made by a recruit in the informal socialization settings must be regarded, however, as more costly and serious then mistakes occuring in formal setting. Precisely because "real" work is interferred with in an informal situation, recruits may create for themselves a "bad reputation" which may follow them all of their days. The rookie policeman who for example, "freezes" while he and his partner attempt to settle a tavern brawl may well find himself ostracized from the inner circle of patrolmen. The forgetful apprentice beautician who provokes a customer by dyeing her hair the wrong color may be forced to look elsewhere for employment in order to complete a mandatory licensing requirement. Experienced members of the organization know fully well that "mistakes happen", but the

recruit is under a special pressure to perform well during an
informal initiation period (or to at least ask first before
acting). Indeed, the main drawback of informal socialization
process often lies in the uncertainties of the task itself.
Thus, steelworkers do not allow apprentices to do work that might
endanger the safety of other workers. Briefs prepared by law
students clerking in an office are carefully checked for possible
errors. And, interns are limited severly in what they can or can
not do in the hospital setting. In short, what one is able to
learn on the job under the informal mode of socialization depends
on contingencies often unrelated to the wishes of either the
recruit or the agents of socialization.

2. Fixed (Variable Socialization) Processes:

   Organizational socialization procedures differ in terms of
the amount of certainty possessed by a recruit regarding his or
her transition timetable. Some apprenticeship programs, for
example, specify a maximum number of years that the newcomer
must act as an apprentice, other programs specify a minimum. In
fixed or determined situations, what Roth (1963) calls "standard-
ized" systems, a person has a fairly precise knowledge of the end-
points, midpoints, and other differentiated periods which will
mark passage through the socialization process.

   Educational processes provide perhaps the best example of the
fixed socialization process. Schools begin and end at the same
time for all pupils and individuals move through the system roughly
one step at a time. Fixed socialization programs provide there-

fore for a rather rigid conception of "normal" progress such that
those who are kept back or skip ahead are considered deviant.

Variable socialization processes provide no advance notice
to those in the setting of the transition timetable. What may be
true for one, is not true for another. A person remains at a
particular level until those with authority decide otherwise.
Such situations require the individual to actively search out
clues to the future. Prisoners serving indeterminant sentences
such as, for example, the legendary one-to-ten, must "dope out"
timetable norms on their own (Irwin, 1970; Taylor and Cohen, 1972).
However, as this example suggest, wherever the rates of passage across
organizational boundaries are of deep concern to participants,
a "sentimental order" will typically develop about when "such and
such" should happen (Dornbush, 1955). Regardless of whether
these expectations are accurate or inaccurate, recruits may very
well measure their progress against them.

The vertically oriented administrative or managerial career
is often a good example of a variable socialization process.
The would-be executive must push hard to discover the signs of
promotion. Thus, the recruit listens to stories about the time it
takes one to advance in the organization, observes closely the
experiences of others, develops an age-consciousness suggesting
the range of proper age for given positions, and so on (Kanter,
1977). The process is judgemental and requires a good deal of
time and effort. On the other hand, in some organizations such

as public service agencies, the timetable for promotions is
rigidly set thus the recruit can rather quickly ascertain when
career relevant events are to occur. However, in some instances
fixed socializations sequences approximate the familiar case
of "always a bridesmaid, never a bride." The timetable for the
transitional pathway is clear enough, but for various reasons, the
person can not or does not wish to complete the journey. Colleges
and universities have their "professional students" who never
seem to graduate as well as those who take seven or eight years
to receive their "four year degree." Training programs have
trainees who continually "mess up" and remain trainees indefinitely.
Fixed process differ therefore with regard to both the frequency
and rate of so-called role failures -- those persons who for some
reason or another "don't make it."

Wheeler (1966) has suggested that in some organizational
settings agents are allowed, if not encouraged, to get rid of
role falures by firing or otherwise amputating them from the
organization. In other settings, agents are required explicitly
to keep their role failures but are allowed nonetheless to
interrupt an individual's progress through the use of such
mechanisms as flunking or recycling. Most organizations use both
techniques thus the definition of role failure varies from the
sharp and unmistakable to the vague and relative.

Roth (1963) suggests that a special category of "chronic
sidetrack" may be created in some organizations for certain types

of role failures. In some police departments, for example,
recruits unable to meet agent demands in the training academy
or on-the-street often receive long-term assignments as city jailers
or traffic controllers. Such assignments signal to the recruit
and to others on the scene that the individual has left the normal
transitional path to full-fledged membership in the organization.
To the extent that such "Organizational Siberias" exist and are
collectively viewed as such by those in the setting, chronic
sidetracking is a possible socialization outcome. Yet, side-
tracking is at times very subtle and problematic as in the case
of young people in lower management positions who are unable to
determine whether they have been left in the starting gate, or are,
in fact, off and running.

Most organizations provide, at least theoretically, for
role failures and exit. But the majority of organizations make
infrequent use of the extreme remedy at their disposal (Porter
and Steers, 1973; Price, 1977). Firing is a form of stigmatiza-
tion few organizations apparently wish to visit upon employees.
People are therefore "temporarily laid-off", "advised to take a
long leave", "outplaced", or otherwise euphemistically eased out
of their positions in ways similar to Goffman's (1952) "cooling
out the mark". Indeed, in some situations, the treatment afforded
an individual is accomplished with such grace that the person will
not know what happened.

When tests and evaluations make enigmatic and variable what
would otherwise be a fixed sequence, the recruit may well suffer

much anxiety. And tests often measure one's ability to cope
or withstand stress and uncertainty more than they measure the
person's skills or abilities. Needless to say, the more the
individual's fate hangs in the balance of test results, the more
anxiety created in the situation.

In general, recruits quickly seek to determine just how
realistic role failure is in the socialization setting. Even
in situations where testing is frequent, recruits may discover
that "everybody gets through regardless". Thus, door-to-door sales
trainees soon ascertain that classroom tests and exercises are
of almost no importance compared to making their first sale (Shafer,
1974). Police recruits eventually learn that as long as they con-
form to the behavioral code of the police academy, there is little
possibility of flunking out due to scholastic failure (Van Maanen,
1973). And students in various beauty colleges find that as long
as they pay their fees on schedule no one really cares whether or
not they "butcher" a job, except perhaps the client (Notkin, 1972).
In any case, appearances are sometimes deceiving since the reality
of the socialization process does not stalk about with a label.
Recruits under most conditions are, however, good dectectives,
demystifying the demystifiable and making, for the time being at
least, fixed socialization processes out of variable ones.

3. Collective (Individual) Socialization Processes:

The degree to which newcomers are processed as members of a
group or individually is perhaps the most critical of the organi-
zational socialization strategies. The difference is analogous to

the batch versus unit distinction made by industrial engineers.
In a batch or mass production case, recruits are bunched together
at the outset and processed collectively through a very similar set
of experiences with the results being relatively uniform (Wheeler,
1966). In the unit or made-to-order case, recruits are processed
individually through a more or less unique set of experiences with
the results being relatively different.

Becker (1964) argues persuasively that when a cohort group
experiences a socialization program together, the outcomes almost
always reflect an "in-the-same-boat" collective consciousness. In-
dividual changes in perspective are built then upon an understanding
of the problems faced by all participants. Becker (1964: 48) writes:

> " As the group shares problems, various members experiment
> with possible solutions and report back to the group. In
> the course of collective discussions, the members arrive
> at a definition of their situation and develop consensus."

At the same time, the consensual character of solutions
worked out by the group may also allow the recruits collectively
to deviate more from the standards set by their agents than would
be possible by an individual recruit acting alone. Collective pat-
terns of socialization provide a potential base for organized
resistance. Thus, the congruence between group solutions and
managerial objectives is always problematic because the recruit
group acting together is more likely than a recruit acting alone
to redef or ignore agent demands. The strength of group under-
standings depend of course upon the degree to which all members
share the same fate. In highly competitive, win-lose settings

where group members know that their own success is increased via the failure of others, the social support network necessary to maintain recruit cohesion may break down. Consensual understandings will develop but they will buttress individual modes of adjustment. Young faculty members in publication-minded universities follow, for example, group standards, although such standards nearly always emphasize individual scholarship. The collective standard being, as it were, an individual one.

Critically, collective strategies of socialization may also promote and intensify agent demands. Thus, army recruits socialize one another in ways the army itself could never do or, for that matter, would never be allowed to do. Graduate students are often said to learn more from one another than from the faculty. While agents may have the power to define the nature of the collective problem, recruits often have more resources to provide the answers such as time, expertise, sympathy, coercion, or patience.

In many cases, collective socialization results in the formation of an almost separate subworld comprised solely of recruits. A cultural perspective complete with its own jargon, areas of discourse, and unique understandings may be developed and brought to bear upon common problems faced by the recruit group. The "stick-togetherness" that grows in such situations depends on the open sharing of experience or what Vanter (1968) calls "communion". Sharing similar difficulties and working out collective solutions

dramatize to a recruit the worth and usefulness of colleagual
ties for without the support and assistance of one's colleagues,
the individual in transition would be lost. Without question, such
lessons and relationships may serve recruits well in later stages
of their organizational careers.

Individual strategies of socialization also require consier-
able adjustments on the part of the recruit. But the perspectives
adopted by the person are not necessarily those most beneficial to
one at the recruit level. Agent definitions are usually the only
ones available. Certainly, the recruit may choose to not accept
such definitions, although to reject them may well imply the sever-
ance of the individual from the organization. Furthermore, the
rich, contextual perspectives available when individual's interact
within a colleague group will not develop. In psycholanalysis, for
example, the vocabulary of motives the patient (recruit) develops
to interpret the situation is quite personal and specific. Of
course such socializtion techniques can and often do result in
deep individual change -- referred to by Burke (1950) as "secular
conversion" -- but they are lonely passages and success is depen-
dent solely upon the mutual regard and warmth existing between the
recruit and agent.

Apprenticeship modes of work socialization are sometimes
similar to therapist-patient relationships. If the responsibility
for transforming the new member to full-fledged status within the

organizations is delegated to only one person, an intense and
rather value-oriented socialization process is likely to follow.
This practice is common whenever a role incumbent is viewed by
others in the setting as the only member capable of shaping the
recruit. Caplow (1964) notes the prevalence of this practice in
the upper-levels of bureaucratic systems and the lower-levels of
craft and professional-based systems. Since the delegation of
responsibility is to only one member, this person or agent must
typically be viewed as a role model which the recruit is expected
to emulate. Graduate schools, businesses and police departments
all make extensive use of individualized socialization strategies.
Outcomes in these one-in-one efforts are dependent upon the affec-
tive relationships which may or may not develop. In cases of high
affect the process works well and the recruit is liable to quickly
and fully internalize the values of the particular roles he or
she is to play. However, when there are few affective bonds be-
tween agent and recruit, the process may not take, leading to
inefficacious results. Although role skills may be easily learned
by the recruit, his or her confirmation of full acceptance into
the organization awaits the judgement of the agent as to the
recruit's conformity to demands. Ultimately, there is little
middle ground and the person either fails or succeeds.

Becker and Strauss (1956) use the notion of "sponsorship" to
discuss this individual socialization tactic. Describing the

interdependence of careers within the organizations, they point
out that during various sequences in a career, a person must be
more concerned with satisfying the expectations of his or her
sponsor than with satisfying personal expectations or the expec-
tations of most others in the organization (though these may all
be closely related). The ability of the individual to satisfy
organizational demands also influences the sponsor's status in
the organizational world. And, if the recruit is doing well, the
sponsor's role as an agent of socialization may be minor and dis-
tant. However, if the recruit is doing poorly, the sponsor's
role may well be a very active and salient one. Thus, while
sponsorship is not without virtue to a recruit, it is not without
danger to the sponsor who must "stick out his neck".

To close this section, individual socialization is usually an
expensive organizational strategy both in time and effort.
Failures cannot be easily rescued or recycled. Moreover, with
industrialization and the related standardization processes which
have accompanied the massive growth in size of organizations, the
use of mass socialization techniques have increased. Collective
methods, because of their ease, efficiency, and predictability,
have tended to replace individual, one-on-one apprenticeship
modes of socialization in the modern organization.

4. Sequential (Simple) Socialization Processes:

Sequential socialization refers to those transitional processes

which are marked by an extended series of discrete, identifiable and cumulative stages through which an individual must pass in order to acheive a defined role and status within the organization. For example, persons being groomed for a particular managerial position may first be rotated across the various jobs that will comprise the range of managerial responsibility such as is the case in many banks. Similarly, police recruits in most departments must successively pass through such stages as academy classroom instruction, physical conditioning, firearm training, and on-the-street pupilage. Simple socialization processes are accomplished in only one transitional stage as is the case when a factory worker becomes a shop supervisor without benefit of an intermediary training program or a department head in a municipal government becomes a city manager without first serving as an assistant in that role. Presumably, any organizational role can be analyzed as to the immediate stages of preparation required of its incoming occupants.

When examining sequential strategies, it is crucial to note the degree to which each stage builds or expands upon the preceeding stage. For example, the courses in most technical training programs are arranged in what is thought to be a simple-to-complex progression. On the other hand, some sequential processes seem to follow no internal logic and therefore, despite their outward appearance, come to resemble nothing more so than a random-like process. Management training is, for instance, quite often a

rather disjoint process with curriculum jumping from topic to topic with little or no integration across stages. In such cases, what is learned by recruits in the program is dependent simply upon what they like best in the sequence. If, however, the flow of topics or courses is harmonious and connected functionally in some fashion, the various minor alterations required of an **individual** at each stage will act cumulatively such that at the end, the person may find himself considerably different than he was when he started.

Relatedly, if several agents handle various portions of the socialization process, the degree to which the agents share common aims is altogether crucial to the eventual outcome. For example, in some Officers's Training Schools of peace time military organizations, the agents responsible for physical and weapon training tend to have very different perspectives about their jobs than those agents in charge of classroom instruction (Wamsley, 1972). Recruits quickly spot such conflicts when they exist and sometimes exploit them, playing agents off against one another. The result of such incongruities often lead to a more relaxed situation for the recruits, one in which they enjoy watching their instructors pay more attention to each other than they pay to the training program.

In an elaborate sequential arrangement, agents may also be unknown to one another, separated spatially, and (or) have

thoroughly different images of their task (Wheeler, 1966). Consider for example, the range of views about a particular job a recruit may receive from persons in the personnel department, people in the training division, colleagues on the job, and one's first supervisor, all of whom have a hand and a stake in the individual's movement through the socialization sequence. From this standpoint, anomie can certainly be extended to the so-called juvenile delinquent who receives "guidance" from the police, probation officers, judges, social workers, psychiatrists and correctional officials. Such a sequence suggests that a person may well learn to be whatever the immediate situation demands.

Beside the ambiguity of conflicting demands sometimes made upon individuals undergoing sequential socialization there is likely to be a strong bias in the presentation of each agent to make the next stage appear benign. In practice, recruits are often told that if they will just "buckle down and apply themselves" while in Stage A, Stages B, C, and D will be indeed easy. Agents usually mask -- wittingly or in some cases unwittingly -- the true nature of the stages to follow for if individuals feel that their future is bright and assured, they will be most cooperative in the present stage not wishing to jeopardize their expected rewards. To wit, consider the tactics of many high school mathematics teachers who tell their students that if they will just work hard in algebra, geometry will be a "cinch" (Lortie, 1975). Consider also Goffman's (1961b) observations of mental patients who, by the time they had

moved through the elaborate sequence of "therapeutic" stages in the hospital, had developed a large residue of mistrust toward their agents, the process itself akin to a "betrayal funnel".

When attempts are consistently made to make each step appear benign, the recruit's best source of information on the process is another person(s) who has gone through it. Whether designated by the organization as official agents or not, those who have previously (and recently) been through the sequence will have a great deal of influence in shaping recruit perspectives. Thus, some organizations go a long way attempting to isolate recruits from veteran members who represent perhaps wellsprings of factual data useful to the recruits. Certain profitmaking trade schools apparently go to great lengths in order to make sure their paying clientele do not know of the very limited job opportunities in, for example, the "glamorous, high-paying worlds" of radio and TV broadcasting, commercial art, or heavy equipment operation. Door-to-door sales trainees are continually assured that success is practically guaranteed, for the "handy-dandy, one-of-a-kind" product they are being schooled in merchandizing will sell itself (Shaffer, 1974). And, if recruits are to be allowed the privilege of interacting with more experienced members of the organization, agents will almost invariably select a veteran member who will present a positive, laundered image to the recruit, an image which conveys only the organizationally approved version of individual success.

Finally, the degree to which the individual is required to

continue through all stages is also an important feature of sequential socialization strategies. The recruit may feel, for example, he is being pushed or pressured into certain positions before he is ready. This is analytically similar to the business executive who does not want a promotion but feels that if he does not take it, his respective career will be damaged (Beckhard, 1977). On the other hand, of course, persons may be so busy preparing for the next step in the sequence that their performance so deteriorates at the immediate stage that the next step never materializes.

5. Homogeneous (Heterogeneous) Socialization Processes:

Socialization settings differ with regard to the demographic, biographic, and attitudinal dissimilarity among recruits. In some situations, the manifest problems presented in the setting will make individual backgrounds relatively unimportant, submerging individual differences in the pursuit of answers to common problems. More likely, however, differences among recruits will represent latent sources of conflict and implicit grounds for informal social organization -- cliques, coalitions, and cabals.

To the degree that recruit groups are homogeneous, the greater the probability that a single perspective will come to dominate the group (Newcomb, 1950; Cartwright and Zander (eds.), 1960). When groups are heterogeneous, recruits utilize social typing categories that make visible -- to recruits at least -- the boundaries of subgroups. If these social types are ephemeral to the immediate

problems faced by all recruits, the unions may simply represent
a recognized, but marginal, feature of the socialization process.
Yet individual differences may result in internal dissension when
they are relevant to the situation at hand. Consequently, in some
organizational training programs where whites outnumber blacks,
race may well be a major grouping factor, for the socialization
problems will be different among the the majority and minority groups
-- e.g., black trainees may have to devote more energy to locating
role models and sources of reliable information within the social
structure than whites simply because there are few other blacks in
the organization.

Attitudinal characteristics are also relevant here. For
example, the distinction between locals and cosmopolitans first
postulated by Merton (1957) bears on those situations in which the
reference groups held by various participants in an organization
are incompatible. Locals are those persons rooted in the immediate
organization and derive their perspective from what they take to
be the organization's interest. On the other hand, cosmopolitans
derive their perspective from a wider audience, reflected perhaps
by a professional association cutting across organizations. Locals
are sometimes suspected by the cosmopolitans as being "more company
men"; whereas cosmopolitans are suspected by the locals to be "dis-
loyal". Each to the other is at odds with the appropriate
motivational base in the organization.

Homogeneity, whether it is demographic, biographic or attitudinal, is in fact one of the most crucial variables in any socialization process. For instance, Dalton (1959) suggests that progress up the organizationally-defined ladder of success is more often than not dependent upon a person's possession of the "right characteristics" -- e.g., religion, race, age and background. Along these same lines, Vebler (1953), Mills (1956) and Whyte (1956) have all argued that organizational selection and promotion devices are biased in the direction that those people who demonstrate "conforming" traits are preferred to those who do not. To a greater or lesser degree, then, organizations typically seek to recruit and reward homogeneity. Presumably, such homogeneous populations will be more amenable to organizational influence.

6. Serial (Disjunctive) Socialization Processes:

The serial mode of organizational socialization—whereby experienced members groom newcomers about to assume similar roles in an organization is perhaps the best guarantee that the organization itself will not change over time. In the police world, the serial feature of recruit socialization is virtually taken for granted and accounts in large measure for the remarkable intergenerational stability among patrolmen (Westley, 1970; Rubenstein, 1973; Muir, 1977). To question this almost sacrosanct mechanism of police training is tantamount to heresy (Van Maanen, 1973). Innovation in serial modes is unlikely, but continuity and a sense of tradition will be maintained, even in the face

of a turbulent and changing environment.

If, however, a person is not following in the footsteps of his predecessor, the socialization pattern can be labelled disjunctive. Whereas the serial pattern risks stagnation and contamination, the disjunctive pattern risks confusion and complication. The recruit who is left to his own devices may rely on definitions gleaned from inappropriate others. But, the disjunctive pattern also creates the opportunity for a recruit to be innovative and original. Without an old guard about to hamper the development of new perspective, the conformity and lockstep pressures created by the serial mode are absent. Entrepreneurs automatically fall into a disjunctive mode of socialization, as do those who fill newly created positions in organizations. In both cases, there are few people, if any, available to the individual who have had similar experiences and could therefore coach the newcomer in light of the lessons they have learned.

Sometimes what appears to be a serial pattern is actually a disjunctive one. To illustrate, recruits may be prepared inadequately for spots in one department by agents coming from another department. This is often the case when the personnel department handles all aspects of training. It is only later, after the newcomers have access to others who have been through the same process that they discover the worthlessness and banality of their training (Van Maanen, 1976). Agent familiarity with the target position is a crucial factor in the serial strategy.

Occasionally, what could be labelled "gapping" presents a
serious socialization problem. Gapping refers to the distance --
social, temporal or otherwise -- between recruit and agent. For
example, a recruit has the greatest opportunity for collecting
data about his career from those with whom he works. But the
experiences of those with whom he works may be quite removed from
his own circumstances. When newcomers hear others tell of being
promoted within a month or two after starting, recruits may well
wonder what is wrong when they are still working the same job
five or six months later. They may think this a reflection on
their own competence. And, needless to say, it is important to
consider what the more experienced employees think of their
younger counterpart who has not been promoted. Roth (1963)
notes that if this were simply a matter of contrast between the
twenty-year veteran and the recruit, the differences could be read-
ily reconciled. However, in many organizations, pathways and
opportunities are constantly changing thus creating minor to major
gaps in the knowledge separating a recruit from others in the
organization.

It is generally true that recruits representing the first
class will set the tone for the classes to follow (Merton. 1957).
It is not suggested that those following are patinated seriatim,
but simply that for those to come, it is easier to learn from the
others already on hand than it is to learn on their own as orgi-

nators. As long as there are others available in the socialization
setting whom newcomers consider to be "like them", these others
will act as guides, passing on consensual solutions to typical
problems. In industrial settings, for example, where worker
satisfaction is low, serial patterns of socialization maintain,
if not amplify, the situation (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).
Serial modes therefore create something analogous to Margaret
Mead's (1956) notion of a post-figurative culture. Just as
children in stable societies are able to gain a sure sense of the
future by seeing in their parents and grandparents an image of
themselves grown older, employees in organizations can gain a
sense of the future by seeing in their coaches, agents or sponsors
an image of themselves further out in the organization. A danger
exists, of course, in that the image itself will not be particularly
flattering or desireable from the standpoint of the recruit and
the person will leave the organization if able, rather than face
what seems to be an agonizing future. Thus, the serial pattern,
even from the eyes of the agent, is likely to be undesireable
when things are going poorly.

The analytic distinction between serial and disjunctive
socialization is sometimes brought into sharp focus when an organ-
ization undertakes a "house cleaning" whereby old members are
moved out and new members brought in to replace them. In such a
case, an entire organization can be thrown into a disjunctive
mode of socialization. It is also true that occasionally the
persons presumably being socialized have more experience and know-
ledge of the work situation than do those who are to socialize

them. For example, in colleges where faculty members are constantly entering and exiting, long term students and veteran staff members exert much control over the organization. Certainly in organizations such as prisons and mental hospitals, recruit turnover is often less frequent than staff turnover. In these organizations, it is not surprising that they are often literally run by the inmates. Similarly, in many work organizations, a person who must be exceptionally good to be, say, a project director at age 25, must be exceptionally mediocre to still be in that same position at age 50 or 55. Because of such circumstances, the age-graded stereotype of the youthful, naive, and passive junior member who is being coached wisely by a mature, informed, and still active agent is frequently false. The process may have been designed as a serial one, but, to a canny recruit, the process is disjunctive for the person may be unwilling to take the agent(s) of socialization seriously.

7.   Open (Closed) Socialization Processes:

When entering an organization, a recruit is frequently a part of a larger group that can be described analytically as relatively open or closed (Ziller, 1965). In open socialization processes, the assignment of a recruit is made to a group which is in a continual state of membership flux. In such situations, individuals typically recognize the transitory nature of their group member-

ship and can be expected to act, naturally enough, in rather self-oriented ways. To the contrary, closed socialization process involve a newcomer within a relatively long standing and perm- anentgroup. Transfer rates in and out of the group are low and and extended time perspective prevails. As such, the group usually has developed (or is developing) elaborate rituals and tests through which the newcomer must pass if he or she is to become integrated within that group. Closed socialization strategies then involve the individual with the common life and purpose of a distinct and long-standing group within the organization.

Both psychologically and sociologically, the differences in behavior between open and closed groups are often striking (Ziller, 1976). For example, the helping relationships that unfold to assist a recruit are likely to be much more pronounced if the socialization process is closed than if it is open. In closed socialization processess, a recruit is more likely as well to encounter group goals that are only vaguely formulated since specific goals may well threaten a permanent group's reason for existence (Parsons, 1960). Furthermore, the newcomer's attachment to the group, rather than the organization, must be demonstrated. In closed processes, questions concerning the newcomer's commitment to the group, his involvement in matters peripheral to the group's concern, and, critically, his loyalty to other group members are sure to be raised. For example, police recruits, upon entering a squad in the patrol division, undergo

a most closed process of socialization. They are tested repeatedly
and closely as to their prudence, their trustworthiness, and their
willingness to share the risks of police work (Van Maanen, 1974).
Officers from other squads are told explicitly to not interfere
and even supervisors maintain something of a hands-off approach
toward the new recruit. For the newcomer, it is a very demanding and
critical period. If he passes the acid tests and demonstrates his
concern for other squad members, he is accepted as part of the team.
If he does not pass, he may well be eliminated from the organiza-
tion altogether. Closed socialization processes are therefore
analytically similar to Bakke's (1960) fusion process in which
an individual's self-concept becomes inextricably tied to the self-
concepts of others.

Open socialization processes often produce very different
results. Loyalty is presumably less an issue to group members than
is competence. Juries, project teams, ad hoc committees, and
so forth represent typical open socialization settings. Social
relationships among colleagues may be somewhat strained since the
necessity to maintain good ones is lessened by virtue of the short-
run nature of the group. There are some advantages to this mode
however. An interesting study is reported by Torrance (1955) who
examined the decision-making abilities of individuals undergoing
both open and closed socialization. He investigated aircrews who
had trained together. After training, some crews were scrambled
(open socialization) whereas other crews remained intact (closed

socialization). To Torrance's surprise, the scrambled crews were far superior on the performance of various task-related problems than were the intact crews. Interpreting these results, he concluded that the relative lack of power differentials and social status among the scrambled groups allowed for a more open and honest consideration of alternative solutions to the problems facing the group than would be possible when power and status were established and relatively fixed as was the case for the intact crews. Janis (1972) has reported some very similar findings more recently.

Different techniques of handling conflict might also be expected to develop between individuals undergoing either closed or open socialization. In the former case, aggresion and withdrawal may well be more popular tactics since they are relatively easy to apply, reliable in their effects, and, since the group is in constant flux, unlikely to have any long range consequences for the individual. In the latter case, negotiation, mediation, and perhaps subtle dissimulation tactics are more likely to be utilized since members know quite well that they will have to continue to work together on a day-to-day basis for some time to come. In open processes, winning and losing on an immediate issue may be paramount to the individuals involved. Thus, conciliation and compromise are unlikely. In closed processes, winning and losing on an immediate issue must be seen by the individual in perspective. Long-term adjustments emphasizing conciliation and compromise must occur since individuals will sooner or later learn

that to win on some issues, they must give in or perhaps lose on others.

Finally, in open socialization processes, the advent of a newcomer is an everyday event and the person is unlikely to be afforded any special treatment. However, in closed processes, the advent of a newcomer is a unique occurance and is likely to reorient the relative positions of all group members to one another. The new child in a family or new member of a gang are particularly good examples here. The past is quite distinguishable from the present in closed processes for the newcomer represents the forces of change. Closed socialization produces therefore episodes or periods of change rather than stability per se. Similarly, the loss of a member may produce change. Here, the death of a close family member serves as a most poignant example. What is particularly the case in closed socialization processes is the necessity to view changes in the group's perspective as being bunched aroun the periods in which individuals enter and exit the group. As many administrators have learned through hard experience, there is often no better way to "shake-up" a long standing group than to bring a critical number of new members in while transferring old members out. What was once a closed socialization process becomes an open one -- at least for a time.

Social Identity and Work Socialization

Perhaps in times past, the notion of work and the work career could be dismissed, taken-for-granted as an irrevocable feature of everyday life, a perfectly predictable outcome of one's position in the traditional order of things. Whether peasant, artisan, or aristocrat, one's life work was for the most part determined by the accident of birth. An individual imposed little separation among various pursuits because one's station in life was the fundamental reality around which family, work, and social activities were organized. In Berger's (1964) analysis, the many social roles a person played in traditional society were fused together and work, in such a context, is redundant to one's more or less fixed location in society, an issue therefore of relatively little concern to an individual.

The concept of Gemeinschaft as utilized by the early socologists captures that non-problematic sense of work nicely.[14] In Gemeinschaft society, the individual is fully incorporated or integrated within a social network that by and large defines who one is, what one is to do, how one is to do it, and what one is to become. The development of individualism is minimal. Relationships among people, whether based upon kinship, neighborhood, or friendship, are characterized by shared sentiments, values, and

beliefs. Experiences in the work sphere of a person's life cannot easily be split from experiences in the non-work spheres for there is an absence of an institutuional differentiation between the two. The community embraces its members such that all activity rests upon convention and agreement. Thus the notion of an individual choosing certain work is essentially alien to the Gemeinschaft world.

It is only with the coming of relationships based on individual exchange and calculation rather than mutual trust and shared knowledge that the concept of work becomes problematic to a person. This shift in social relationships is associated with the momentous historical transition of 18th and 19th century Western society from its communal and medieval character to its present competitive and industrial form. In place of the old Gemeinschaft orientation of the workman to his work, upon which Nisbet (1967) remarked "the person gives himself limitlessly to his job without calculation of its time or compensation," there arises the Gesellschaft orientation in which the workman strives primarily for his own advantage. Individualism is highly developed and work, in modern society, can be approached in an instrumental and segmental manner for it is separable in theory and in practice from other sphere's of life.

This transformation represents an impressive victory for rationalism. No longer is the world a place where the present is indistinguishable from the past. Volunteristic beliefs replace

deterministic ones and we see ourselves making choices that affect
the course of our lives. In the world of work, for example, the
ever expanding list of job titles suggests to the individual that
career possibilities abound. Indeed, few children these days
enter the occupations of their parents. In a world thus disenchanted,
the person in theory can master all things. A planned career is
therefore possible for the choices we make in the present can be
seen to have recognizable, if probabilistic, consequences in the
future.

Granted that raionalism, individualism, and volunterism are
virtually taken-for-granted features of present day Western societies,
the preceding review of socialization strategies suggests that many
work organizations nonetheless go to great lengths to influence
the thought and action of their new members. Moreover, it is
generally agreed that contemporary socialization practices have
become less uniform and powerful within the family, the church,
the school, and the community. As such, a person's sense of self-
hood may becoming more closely tied to the organizations in which
they work then ever before. Thus, despite the social segmentation
of modern life into work and non-work spheres, it would be foolish
to suppose that organizational socialization·practices have little
psychological effect on a person simply because they fall outside
of the traditional locales of social influence.[15]

In this section, I lump together various self-referential
concepts such as self-image, self-esteem, and self-concept into

the broader concept of social identity and argue that under certain
conditions one's social identity becomes tied to the work role he
or she performs such that the role itself becomes something the
person rather fully embraces, supports, and seeks to affirm in all
its sterling detail (Goffman, 1959).

The claiming of a social identity based on one's work role
involves behavior that falls conceptually somewhere between what
is conventionally defined as individual or personality-based
behavior and formal or functional role-based behavior. In short,
the notion of social identity allows one to make relatively fine-
grained distinctions among people who fill the same functional role
yet stops short of requiring the sort of depth psychology approach
to personal character wherein the role vanishes from view and only
idiosyncratic aspects of the person's character remain.

Taking as a whole the arguments presented in the previous
sections of this chapter, it is clear that certain forms of
socialization are far more likely than other forms to provide
recruits with encompassing situational definitions and per-
spectives for their work role such that their social identity
changes rather dramatically upon being processed into a work
organization. For example, I suggested that collective strategies
are more powerful than individual strategies at promoting a sense of
mutual trust, dependence, and similarity among the membership of
an organization. Or, similarly, I suggested that formal strategies

are more likely to influence one's beliefs, attitudes, and values
than informal strategies which tend to operate -- in the short
run at least -- on the skill levels acheived by recruits.

A useful way of summarizing the materials presented is then
to consider, as a unit, those strategies which tend to dismantle
a recruit's social identity such that it can be rebuilt in an
organizationally approved fashion and, conversely, to consider
those strategies which tend to confirm a recruit's incoming social
identity thus ratifying the worth and function of the entering
characteristics presented by the person. The former set of
strategies can be called a divestiture system and, in the extreme
case, it includes the formal, variable, collective, sequential,
homogeneous, serial, and closed strategies of socialization.
The latter set of strategies can be called an investiture system and,
again in the extreme case, it includes the informal, fixed,
individual, simple, heterogeneous, disjunctive, and open strategies
of socialization.

Ordinarily, the degree to which entrance into an organization
resembles an ordeal to a recruit indicates the degree to which
a divestiture system is present. Such a system is set up to deny
and strip away certain entering characteristics carried by a recruit.
To wit, many organizations virtually require a new member to
severe old friendships, undergo extensive harrassment from experienced
members, alter outward appearances and demeanor, and engage, for
long periods of time, in what veteran members of the organization

often call "shit work" or "dirty work". During this period, if
endured demurely, willingly, and with a certain amount of forebear-
ance, poise and good humor, the newcomer gradually acquires the
official and unofficial credentials of full membership. Printers
(Lipset et al., 1956), railwaymen (Salaman, 1974), jazz musicians
(Becker, 1953), policemen (Van Maanen, 1973), psychiatrists (Light,
1980), management trainees (Dalton, 1959), hockey players (Faulkner,
1974), and some schoolteachers (Lortie, 1975) all had to suffer
considerable indignation, mortification, and humiliation in order
to "pay their dues" such that they could become equal and accepted
participants in their respective organizations.

Goffman's (1961) "total insitutions" are commonly thought
prototypical in this regard. But, it is important to note that
even in total insitutions, initiation rites and the ordeals of
passage may well have differential meaning to recruits. In this
sense, Goffman and others have perhaps been overimpressed with
the degree of profanation of the self that occurs with institution-
alization. Even in the harshest of settings like prisons and
mental hospitals, many recruits have been through the entry
procedures so frequently that they are undergone matter-of-factly,
with little or no change in the social identity of the person.
A self-proclaimed thief in prison, for example, seems to be in an
investiture system moreso than in a divestiture one since it
appears that one's pre-institutional identity can be sustained with
ease in such settings. Prison, in these cases, represents simply

an annoying interval to the person in an otherwise orderly career.
From the thief's perspective, prison socialization follows an
informal, individual, fixed, simple, heterogeneous, and open
pattern. And, while there are no doubt serial elements to the
incarceration experiences, such serial socialization most often
supports rather than contridicts the social identity brought by
the person to the organization. In short, at least for repeat
offenders, prison life is typically a confirming experience,
not a disconfirming one.

Though close inspection is always required, it is still the
case that many organization do construct divestiture systems
designed primarily to make the recruit over into whatever those in
the setting deem appropriate.[16] In extreme situations, recruits
are isolated from former associates, must abstain from certain
types of behavior, publically degrade themselves and others,
follow a rigid set of sanctioned rules and regulations, and, in
general, "toe the line" in a very closely monitored and regimented
fashion. This process, when voluntarily undergone, serves to commit
and bind the person to the organization. The sacrifice and
surrender involved is premised, of course, upon a sort of "insti-
tutional awe" carried by a recruit when passing through such a
systematic ordeal. Within this society, there are many familiar
illustrations: the Marine Corps, organized crime, fraternal
orders, the priesthood, religious cults, college teaching, elite
law schools and other forms of professional training, off-shore

fishing occupations, professional athletics, self-realization
groups, apprenticeship in certain trades, and so on. All
of these activities require the recruit to pass through a
series of robust tests in order to gain priviledged access
to the organization within which the work one learns is per-
formed.[17]

In general, simply the endurance of an ordeal promotes
a strong fellowship and sense of shared social identity among
those who have traversed the same path to membership. Such
experiences provide the newcomer with the prized reward of
membership and a set of ready-made colleagues that dramatize
for the recruit the worth of such a reward. Those who endure
the system and pass the tests imposed by the agents symbolize
to others on the scene that they are commited fully to the
organization and the gap separating recruits from members
narrows appreciably while the gap separating recruits and
members from non-members grows. To Simmel (1950), the ordeal
serves as the sacramental rites-of-passage in an invisible but
secular church.

An investiture system, on the other hand, conveys the mes-
sage to the recruit that "the organization likes you as you are,
don't change." Entrance is made as smooth and trouble free as
possible. Those already in the setting go to great lengths
to insure the recruit's needs are met. Demands made on the
person are balanced to avoid being unreasonable. The elaborate

rituals involved in breaking-in top management personnel or
professional specialists within industrial organizations are
cases in point. And, in times of labor scarcity, positions on
the bottom rung of organizational ladders are filled with a
concern for employee desires. Brief orientation programs,
career counseling, relocation assistance, and even a visit to
the president's office with the prefunctory handshake and good
wishes systematically suggest to newcomers that they are valu-
able as they are -- that the organization has both figuratively
and literally invested in them. Of course, rude awakenings
may be waiting in the wings, but, at least at entrance, the
socialization strategies employed by the organization may
have been experienced by the recruit as mildly euphoric. As
such, the recruit's social identity is merely strengthened and
perhaps embellished, but not altered.

Clearly, divestiture rather than investiture systems are
more likely to produce conforming results among recruits. In
and of itself, however, this result may be commendable since
standardization or conformity per se must be thought of, in many
instances, as highly functional. From a work standpoint, con-
forming airline pilots, heart surgeons, car mechanics, and public
accountants are clearly desireable, at least insofar as their
performance on the job is concerned. It is true of course that
psychologically the extent to which the role becomes an all
encompassing social identity may be seen as problematic. But,
nonetheless, conformity on the job may well be both organi-
zationally and socially valuable. Moreover, it must also be

remembered that divestiture systems bestow an identity upon a person as well as destroy one. From this perspective, coercion is not necessarily an evil assault on a person since it can also be seen as a device for stimulating positively evaluated changes on the part of the individual. What has always been difficult with coercion is the possibility for perversion that it involves not its obvious capacity for stimulating change. Indeed, there is a time-honored tradition for people to impose coercive circumstances upon themselves in the hope of creating interesting and enriching results (e.g., setting deadlines, making contracts, forcing one's self to try something new). In sum, to the individual, it is only by clearing away the former self that it is possible to become something else -- a soldier (or revolutionary), an expert (or student), an entrepreneur (or employee), a master (or apprentice), a policeman (or criminal).

Closing Comments

I have attempted to provide in this essay a partial framework for analyzing some of the more pervasive strategies used by organizations for controlling and directing the work perspectives and behavior of their members. Obviously, there are other strategies that could have been discussed. For instance, the tightness or looseness of day-to-day supervision could be depicted as a socialization strategy (Argyris, 1964).

So too could the degree of competitiveness sponsored by the
organization among its recruits (Rosenbaum, 1979). What I have
tried to do here however is describe those processes that
because of their generality are typically ignored by organizational researchers
and taken for granted by organizational decision-makers.

It is true of course that the individual entering an
organization does not represent a human version of the tabla
rosa, merely waiting patiently for the organization to do its
work. Certainly some people play very active roles in their
own socialization and insofar as this is the case, such dynamics
have been largely ignored in this analysis. Thus, each strategy
discussed here contains only the possibility, not the actuality.
of effect. For example, individuals undergoing collective
socialization may withdraw from the situation, abstaining from
the group life that surrounds other recruits. Or, some people
may pass through a tightly closed socialization process with a
calculated indifference and stoic nonchalance relative to others
in the group of which they are nominally a member. A few
exceptions are probably the rule in even the most tyrannical
of settings.

However, the preponderance of evidence presented here sug-
gests that certain organizational socialization processes can
and do play very powerful roles in influencing recruit con-
ceptions of their work roles and social identities. By teasing
out the structural elements which, by and large, define any
organizational passage, it is apparent that for the most persons

a given set of experiences in the organization will lead to
rather predictable ends. The point I wish to reemphasize
here is simply that much control over individual behavior in
organizations is a direct result of the manner in which people
are processed into and through the organization. By directing
attention to the breakpoints or transitions in a person's work
career, particularly the early stages of the career where
relatively more learning takes place than at later stages,
much is to be gained in terms of understanding how organizations
shape the performances and ambitions of their members.

To researchers, therefore, I hope this chapter stimulates
more interest in the direct strategies of people processing
than has heretofore been the case. This may be a matter of
some urgency, for, as Blau and Schoenherr (1971) and Perrow
(1972) have argued recently, the trend in modern organizations
is apparently one of decreasing control through traditional
means such as direct supervision or the immediate application
of rewards and punishments and increasing the control over
organizational members by using indirect means such as
recruitment, selection, training, and career path manipulation.
To these remote control mechanisms, one might add the sociali-
zation strategies described in this paper and the overarching
investiture or divestiture systems in which they seem to be
embedded.

More generally, to members of organizations, I hope this
chapter promotes a degree of insight into the various social-

ization strategies such that some self-initiated organizational analysis will be undertaken. Since many of the strategies for "breaking in" employees to various roles lie beneath the surface of organizational life, they are rarely discussed or considered to be matters of choice when decisions are made about how to bring in new members. Those strategies that do get considered often are left unchanged simply because their effects are not well understood. Other strategies, even when their effects are understood, are frequently justified by the traditional illogic of "I-had-to-do-it-that-way-and-by-god-so-are-the-people-that-follow-me." Yet, as I have attempted to show, socialization processes are not products of some fixed, evolutionary pattern, they are cultural artifacts crafted from human invention and can therefore be changed.

Notes

1. This is a critical point for the analytical thrust
    of this chapter is distinctly sociological, not psychological.
    While it is altogether true that people differ greatly in
    their response to influence attempts, the study of sociali-
    zation must first be concerned with the forms in which
    socialization appears rather than individual reactions to
    these forms. Certainly both must be studied but, in my view,
    far too much attention has been directed toward the individ-
    ual differences which characterize the results of socializa-
    tion and far too little attention has been placed on the
    common and general features of the process itself. There
    are of course knotty theoretical and epistemological prob-
    lems raised by an approach that by and large ignores the
    phenomenological reality of social, structural, and cultural
    properties as described analytically. But, as I hope to
    display in this chapter, the risks are well worth running
    when, if by ignoring for the moment particularistic person-
    based complications, certain underlying definitional features
    of socialization can be identified. I have, however, con-
    sidered some of the phenomelogical questions surrounding the
    varieties of adult socialization elsewhere (Van Maanen, 1977a;
    1979b) and there is a brief section of this chapter that
    treats some of these issues in an introductroy way ("On
    learning to Work").

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2. Certainly, in many work situations, the entry level job taken by an individual represents a sort of terminal career node also. Coal miners, garbage collectors, secretaries, janitors, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, schoolteachers, policemen, and social workers enter jobs at a level from which hierarchical advancement is not the norm. To a degree then these jobs represent a most limited career. Yet, there almost always exists the possibility of achieving, from the individual's perspective, a better assignment, freedom from close supervision, higher pay with seniority, some form of tenure, increasing recognition for a job well done, and perhaps a more central role in the organization itself. For a useful model of the career that recognizes movement across the inclusionary or social boundries of an organization as well as movement across the functional and hierarchical ones, see Schein, 1968; 1971.

3. There are many studies from both a psychological and socio-logical perspective that indicate a person's early organizational experiences are a major determinant of one's later organiza-tionally relevant beliefs, attitudes, and actions (e.g., Becker and Strauss, 1956; Hughes, 1958; Schein, 1961; 1962; Roth, 1963; Glaser, 1964; Berlew and Hall, 1966; Brim, 1966; Wheeler, 1966; Manning, 1970; Vroom and Deci, 1971; Becker, 1972; Lortie, 1975; Bell and Price, 1975; Feldman, 1976; Van Maanen, 1976; Pucher and Stelling, 1977; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). Although I do not try to summarize these studies

in this chapter in a ore than a cursory way, the most
general conclusion stemming from these studies is simply:
"first impressions are lasting."

4. There are essentially three general sources of anxiety
associated with individual transitions. First, there are
cultural anxieties created whenever a person is separated
from an everyday social situation with which he or she has
become intimately familiar. Second, psychological tensions
are promoted with a new role as well as the performance
anxieties a person may have when taking on new duties. Third,
and perhaps of most importance to the discussion here, socio-
logical stress results when a person feels a lack of identifi-
cation with the activities of others immediately surrounding
one. See Van Maanen (1977a) for a more extended view of
these factors from the perspective of the individual undergoing
socialization.

5. The view of social action in this chapter is based primarily
upon Meadian social psychology and is expressed most succinctly
by the symbolic interactionists such as Blumer (1969), Hughes (1971),
and Becker (1971). Social and personal changes with this framework
always requires the analytic occasion of surprise for surprise
prompts, if only temporarily, a kind of disengagement from the
concerns of the moment and makes possible the apprehension of
those concerns not previously noticed. Becker's (1964) classic
essay and Strauss's (1959) monograph provide a crisp introduc-

tion to the topic of personal change in adult life as handled
by the symbolic interactionists.

6. Only a brief treatment of the "sociotemporal" properties of
   situational definitions is presented in the text. For a
   considerably more extensive treatment of this the content side
   of socialization, see Van Mannen, 1977a; 1979a,b. The view
   presented here (and elsewhere) owes much to the work of Mead,
   1932.

7. Cognitive anthropolgists, sociologists, and psychologists
   have all made imaginative uses of the notion of mental maps.
   See, for example, Tolman, 1948; Kelley, 1955; Gould and White,
   1974; and Cicourel, 1975.

8. The "normalization" aspect of recruit socialization refers to
   the grasp a recruit comes to possess of the everyday standards
   and typifications used by others in the workplace to guide
   their actions. For example, learning what constitutes "real
   work" as opposed to what is considered cosmetic or peripheral
   work in the organization as well as the labels and argot used
   by others to refer to people and objects encountered frequently
   in the course of a workday are significant dimensions of the
   "normalization" process. For an enlightening empirical and
   theoretical approach to an individual's development of a situ-
   ational definition, see, Mc Hugh (1968). Many of the ideas
   that inform my discussion in the text were gleaned from Mc Hugh's

careful treatment of the topic.

9. To come to know an organizational situation and act within it implies that the person has developed some commonsensical beliefs, principles, and understandings of that situation. In the shorthand notation used in the text, a "perspective" is developed for interpreting the experiences one undergoes when participating in a given sphere of the work world. As used in this chapter, a "perspective" is merely a broader version of the more specific and focused concept, "situational definition." A description of the meaning sociologists attach to the twin **terms** situational definition and perspective can be found in Van Maanen (1970b). See also Shibutani's (1962) seminal remarks on shared meaning systems.

10. The number of factors influencing the outcome of any organizational socialization process upon a specified individual is no doubt quite large. Aside from the factors directly considered in this chapter, individual responses will perhaps vary by : type of organization (Glaser (ed.), 1969); career stage (Van Maanen, 1977b); career anchor (Schein, 1975); occupational task requirements (Creer (ed.), 1972) · underlying occupational discipline (Schein, 1972); the individual's involvement in the work career (Bailyn, 1977); and so forth. All of these personal and contextual factors deserve intensive study of course but to systematically link these situational and individual factors to socialization practices requires that one can first characterize the more pervasive forms of organizational socialization itself.

11. An early and rather brief statement on the strategies of organizational socialization is located in Van Maanen and Schein (1976) and in Van Maanen (1978b). A later and more extensive treatment is given in Van Maanen and Schein (1979). Much of the material presented in this section has been excerpted, edited, culled, and otherwise drawn from this previous work.

12. Of course the length of the formal process is an important moderating factor in this regard. The longer the formal process, the more culture that is usually transmitted to the recruit. Thus, the greater the probability that a recruit will internalize the organizationally desired values, motives, and beliefs. I should note too that many organizations "farm out" this formal preparation phase to various educational institutions. Professional schools, for example, often handle much of the formal socialization demands of some types of organizations.

13. Since these sorts of deviations are, by and large, expected in many organizations, it hardly seems reasonable to refer to the many rule breakers as "deviants," or, in terms coined elsewhere, "inefficaciously socialized" (Van Maanen, 1976). To the contrary, these examples illustrate a rather important principle: When "deviations" are frequently made by a large percentage of organizational members, they somehow become transformed into normal aspects of the system, aspects that the recruit is somehow expected by others on the scene to learn.

Thus, when many people do the wrong thing (normatively speak-
ing), this thing becomes right (practically speaking).

14. The Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft conception of historical
processes is attributed to Tönnies (1955). Unlike Marx, Tönnies
saw changes in the form of economic production as a result,
not a cause, of the move in social relationships described in
the text (although otherwise their views are quite similar).
Tönnies typology is also very close to Durkheim's (1933) later
notion of an evolutionary transformation from the "mechanical
solidarity" of medieval society to the "organic solidarity"
of present day society. More recently, Berger's (1964) dis-
cussion of the meaning of work in sacred (traditional) and
secular (modern) societies conveys many of the same points.
Even Riesman's (1950) often quoted distinction between inner-
and other-directed man has much the same flavor as Tönnies
masterful twin concepts. For a good discussion of these con-
cepts, see Salaman, 1974.

15. The view taken here is simply that while one's sense of self
may be the person's most cherished individual possession, the
origins and maintenance of such beliefs are located in the
social circles in which one moves. This view is presented most
forceably by Goffman (1959) and is elaborated upon in Van Maanen
(1978).

16. The degree to which such divestiture systems fulfill the

manifest, latent, or unintended objectives of those who
designed the system is an open and interesting question in
its own right though it is a question that because of space
limitations can not be addressed adequately in this chapter.
I will suggest however that it seems on occasion that certain
socialization strategies which promote peculiar ends develop
without the conscious intent of organizational decision makers.
For example, the notion that prisons socialize first offenders
into a life of crime is a rather popular if disturbing one
and one that has considerable basis in fact. But surely
prisons were not designed to be schools of crime; yet that is
their result (Light, 1979).

17. Risk, danger, and uncertainty seem to characterize many of the
tasks performed by members of organizations noted for their
ordeal-like entry procedures. Salaman (1974) argues, for
instance, that something akin to an "organizational embrace,"
binding the membership to one another through a common sense of
purpose and identity, grows from the collective performances
of a potentially dangerous task which is deemed morally signifi-
cant. An example of just such a process is given in Miller
and Van Maanen (1979) when examining the social organization
of commericial fishing.

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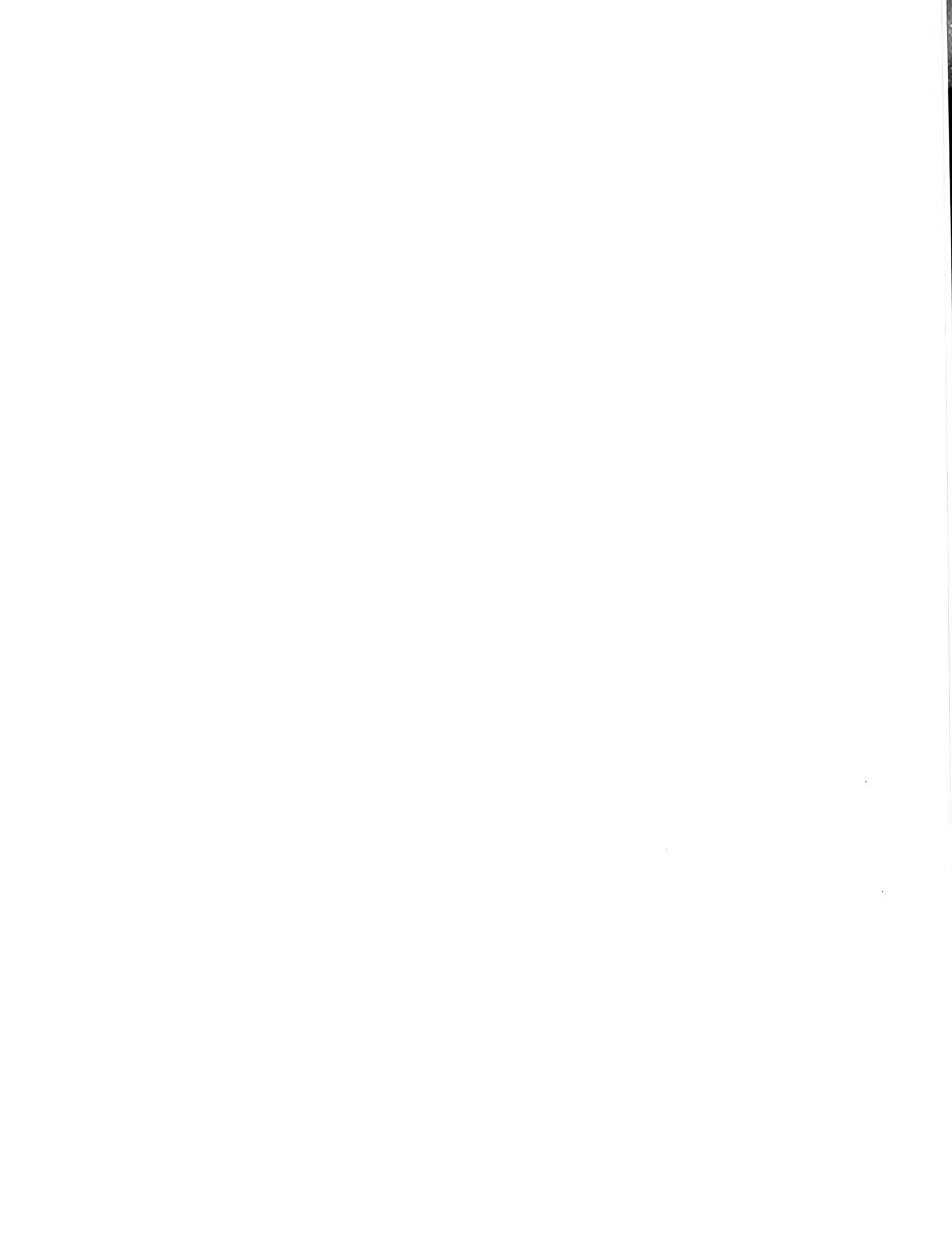
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